128
[114] We were fortunate in the extensive assistance and guidance which we received from Dr R.G. Crocombe in conducting the survey and at all stages in the preparation of the manuscript. Drs Bettison, Brookfield and Brown also read drafts of this report and we are grateful for their comments which we found valuable in revising the manuscript.

127 We wish also to acknowledge the co-operation of the Statistician, Bureau of Statistics, Papua, who made available the data from the Food and Agriculture Organization Survey, and of the trustees of the Mitchell Library, Sydney, who gave permission to quote from F.E. Williams' papers in their collection.

177 time the process of readjustment and restoration was still a
648 major question demanding attention. A few years later the third misfortune occurred.

731 The eruption of Mt Lamington, which caused catastrophic loss of life and dispossessed many people of their land,[1] left deep impressions on the minds of the survivors, particularly an acute sense of guilt which has been widely remarked upon. They felt that God had punished them for not helping the Allies enough during the war, and for not heeding the wishes of the mission and the administration. Some observers ascribed both the marked spirit of co-operation noticeable in evacuation camps and the avowed intentions of many to obey government directions in the future, to these negative feelings (Belshaw 1951:3-6; Keesing 1951:5). By this time 'population trends indicate that with the present percentage of children, there are likely to be considerable increases in the future' (Plant 1951:4). The area was closed for recruiting but this did not solve the problem of the supply of labour for reconstruction because men were drawn back to their casual jobs on local rubber plantations and the mission asked each village to work a day a week rebuilding mission stations (Belshaw 1951:8).

[101]
[464]
[797]

657 After the war, compensation was paid for property of the
[731] villagers which had been damaged or destroyed, and following the eruption a programme of resettlement and rehabilitation was instituted.

121 For our investigations, Sivepe was chosen from the villages in
127 the Saiho Census Division mainly because it had been one of the sample villages in the Survey of Indigenous Agriculture conducted by government departments of the Territory and of Australia on behalf of the Food and Agriculture Organization's World Survey of Subsistence Agriculture. Information from the survey has provided quantitative material which, though summary, is directly comparable with results of our short survey of subsistence cultivation. The F.A.O. survey's sample was chosen by statistical methods.[2]

121 The interest which governed our own selection of a sample of
125 manageable size from among Sivepe villagers - and comparable with

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[1] Several thousand of the Orokaiva on the slopes of the volcano were killed by the clouds of hot dust emitted at about 200 m.p.h. and 200°C. Sivepe was just beyond the limits of the area destroyed. The villagers spent about a year's enforced absence in evacuation camps (see p.76), but some neighbouring people who survived were absent from their land for far longer periods.

[2] Walters 1963:4.

Chapter 4

The cash economy

a. Income and expenditure[1]

Data collected from each household on its income and expenditure for 1962 are set out in Tables 6 and 7. There were no written records available to check the amounts which informants claimed they had received or paid but detailed discussions were held on each specific item and inconsistencies were re-examined. An average of $34 had passed through each householder's hands and he could fairly easily recall details of the major transactions.

Per capita income was approximately $6.60 for the year while expenditure was $8.20. The reduction during the year in the amount of cash in hand is due to the fact that individuals who had employment which terminated late in 1961 or early 1962 drew on cash reserves during 1962.

Of a total income of $328 for the 12 households, 27 per cent was derived from paid employment, 24 per cent from the sale of primary produce and 24 per cent from marriage payments; a further 13 per cent was money received from kin employed in other districts of Papua and 12 per cent came from kinsmen in the neighbourhood (see Table 6).

Major items of expenditure were store purchases of food, clothing, household utensils and other equipment such as a shotgun and torches. These accounted for 62 per cent of total expenditure. In many instances the goods were distributed or shared among 2 or 3 households of the expanded family and sometimes more widely than this. Some householders shared the receipts of large bride price with other kin during the year but no one had had to contribute to bride price payments on behalf of kin. Of $410 paid out by the 12 householders in this period 22 per cent

[1] Figures given in this section are corrected to the last digit given.

Table 4

Inonda coffee production(1)

245
433
435

Year	Household No.	Weight (lbs. parchment coffee)	Price per lb.	Value
1960	1	242	1/2 and 1/3	£14.13. 4
	3	61(2)	" "	3.14. 4
	4	103(3)	" "	6. 3.11
	Total	406		24.11. 7
1961	1	246	1/-	12. 6. 0
	3	76	1/-	3.16. 0
	4	24	1/-	1. 4. 0
	Total	346		17. 6. 0
1962 (to Aug.)	1		1/-	6. 0. 0
	3		1/-	3. 0. 0
	4		1/-	4. 0. 0
-	Total			£13. 0. 0

[124]

(1) Details of sales were obtained from receipts issued to producers by the Orokaiva Coffee Growers Society (for sales in 1962) and by the Department of Agriculture (for sales in 1960-1). Information for 1960 and 1961 is probably complete (except for sales from household 4 for 1961). Figures for 1962 include producers' estimates of the value of coffee they harvested during the first eight months of the year.

(2) Part of this coffee was sold by the brother of the head of household 3.

(3) Part of this coffee was sold by the step-father of the head of household 4.

463 to be trading within their own village and twenty-six outside their
472 village.[1] In eighteen cases store location is not specified. The
366 only indication of success provided by the licence is the period of operation for each store. This index is not wholly reliable, because a store licence is sometimes renewed when the store is no longer in operation but is intended to be re-opened.[2]

Table 10

Store location and years of operation of all indigenous entrepreneurs in the Northern District*

Store location	Years of operation by trading licences 1	2	3	4	5	6	Total
Within own village	3	7	11	-	-	2	23
Outside own village	3	4	8	3	4	4	26
No information on location	11	5	-	2	-	-	18
Total	17	16	19	5	4	6	67

[127] * This information was obtained from government records which are not available before 1960.

Only 9 per cent of those whose stores are located within the village have held a trading licence for more than three years, compared to a corresponding figure of 42 per cent for those who trade outside the village. This conclusion must be tentative as trading licences are an unreliable index of success, but it agrees with the evidence of the present study and with the data of Crocombe (1967:21). Both tables suggest that trading within one's own village may have an inhibiting effect on individual commercial activity.

463 Labour. The Orokaiva commonly enlist the help of relatives to
472 establish and maintain cash crops. These relatives are rarely
476 regarded as paid labourers, and are compensated with random gifts of cash, store goods, an undefined share in the profits of the cash crop or a wide variety of services such as help in farm work, bride price, etc. Such obligations are not specific as to volume, value or time, and even when met can be used for further credit.

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[1] The number actually within the village is considerably less as those trading and living within about a mile of their village are usually recorded as being within the village.

[2] For example, subjects A, B, C and D, who have all closed down their stores, still retain current trading licences.

Foreword

121 This paper is concerned with an experiment initiated in 1964 in
423 the Northern District of Papua in which land previously held under customary tenure has been converted to registered individual title in accordance with the Land (Tenure Conversion) Ordinance 1963. Three main aspects of conversion were examined:

(i) the motivations and expectations of the people at one of the first conversion schemes, Ombi-Tara;

(ii) the effects of conversion on productivity, land use, residence patterns, work organisation, and social life at Ombi-Tara;

(iii) the cost to the government per acre and per block (i.e. farm) of tenure conversion in the Northern District.

127 Much of the data on the costs of conversion was collected from official files. Where recorded information was not available,
124 estimates based on interviews were used. The body of the Ombi-Tara data as set out in Chapters 3 and 4 was gained from personal interviews carried out between 9 January and 11 February 1966. During
122 these periods my assistants and I lived in the single men's house in Ombi village.

124 All males over the age of fifteen resident at Ombi-Tara were
115 interviewed with the exception of one old man. In addition we interviewed two 'outsiders' who have applied for blocks in the Ombi-Tara scheme. One is a man of the main clan at Ombi (Musu) who now lives in a neighbouring village but intends to move to Ombi soon. The other is a Papuan Agricultural Assistant who is stationed at Ombi but whose home village is near Cape Killerton about forty miles away. Interviews were conducted in the local language through interpreters.

128 Interviewing has serious defects. The answers one gets can only be as good as the questions asked. Although we followed up all answers with probes and long, informal discussions, talking is a poor substitute for rigorous and sustained observation over a
[121] period of years. The only justification for using this method is that time was short, and that this paper is intended only as an exploratory attempt to examine the operation of the 1963 land tenure conversion legislation in the only district where it has so far been applied.

broader view of the social consequences of the eruption, and therefore included a third village, Hohorita, which lies at the centre of the area most deeply affected by the calamity. Sivepe, lying West of the volcano, escaped the full blast of the explosion; Inonda, to the East, was not directly affected at all, but Hohorita is a village made up of the survivors from Sangara villages situated in the blast area. Hohorita, as well as Kiorota which I visited briefly, has a far larger population than Orokaiva villages normally contain; these people were brought together, as a result of government organisation immediately after the eruption, from more than a dozen of the destroyed villages, comprise more than a dozen clans and constitute a new type of residential unit the origin of which may be directly traced to the eruption. Both Hohorita and Kiorota are situated on land owned by one of the constituent clans. With over 400 inhabitants, they face serious problems of factionalism. The government, which had an active hand in fostering them, had hoped they would solve basic problems of Orokaiva social fragmentation. In fact, one may almost say that the large consolidated village was a principal aim of government planning for the persons displaced by the eruption. Hence, it seems necessary to include consideration of this residential form in the present study.

Of the 12 months spent in the Territory of Papua, my wife and I lived in Orokaiva villages for more than 10 months, dividing the rest of the time between Port Moresby and the administrative centre of Popondetta. Most of the field period was spent in Sivepe, with three weeks in Inonda and five weeks in Hohorita. In Inonda we made use of a house previously used by the New Guinea Research Unit; in Sivepe a village house was built for us while at Hohorita we were squatting in an uncompleted village house--an unsatisfactory arrangement which accounts, in part, for the brevity of our stay. Fortunately, we had extremely competent research assistance at Hohorita, after we stopped residing there. The head teacher, Mr. Harold Heru, prepared extremely good genealogical records, showing residence of matrilateral and affinal kin as well as clan structure and residence.

The basic source of the material that follows are my own field notes. These are supplemented by government records, the publications on the Orokaiva and the eruption published by F. E. Williams, Reay, Belshaw, Keesing, Crocombe, Hogbin, Rimoldi, Waddell. I also collected tape recordings containing 50 basic documents in the Orokaiva language; transcriptions in Orokaiva and translations into English are available. A number of Europeans who were concerned with the administration of the temporary refugee camps were interviewed, including Dr. Gunther, Mr. F. Kaad, Mr. C. Searle, Mr. R. Hart and others too numerous to mention. Miss Nancy White, a mission teacher at Hohorita, apart from giving other help, put at my disposal a valuable collection of her diary notes, important letters written to her and Orokaiva texts collected at the Sasembata mission school in the years 1952 - 1953.